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ABSTRACT

The issues of reading in bilingual education are examined with a primary focus on the contemporary classroom in the United States. Within bilingual education, concern for reading has seldom reflected current research and theory, and little research has focused on reading within bilingual programs. In addition to focusing on the specifics of the classroom, issues are discussed in the context of human language and language use now and in the past. The development of literacy in multilingual countries must be based on understanding of linguistic realities in specific locations and must be in tune with political, economic, and cultural realities. The range of possibilities in the school's responses to bilingual or multilingual realities and the kind of literacy program each alternative requires are presented. The series of alternatives focus on maintenance, transitional, and English as a second language programs. Three common assumptions that have dominated curricular suggestions in bilingual literacy programs are discussed, and the range of ways to attend to reading issues in schools with bilingual pupils are examined. Teaching methods, instructional materials, and program evaluation for reading instruction in a bilingual, biliterate curriculum are covered. A list of references and information sources for bilingual bicultural materials is included. (SW)

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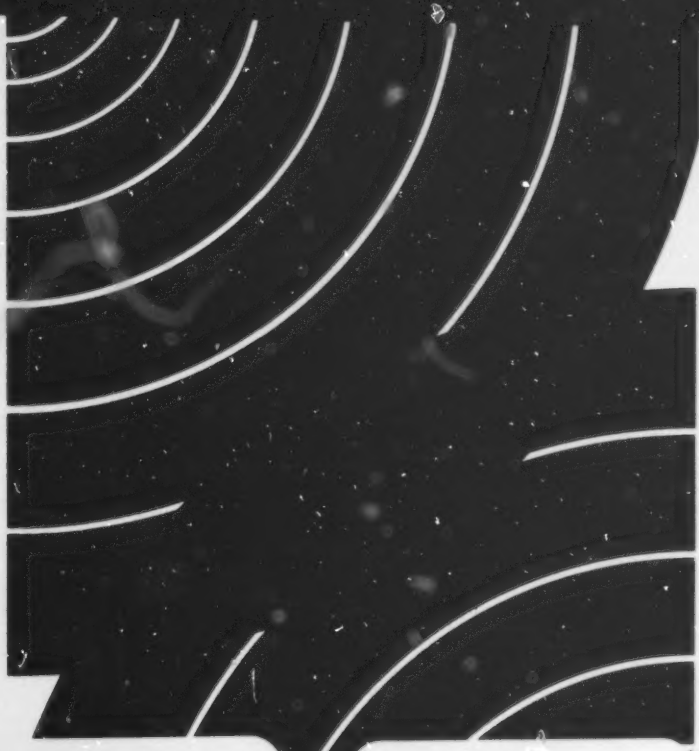

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Reading in the Bilingual Classroom:

Literacy and Biliteracy

Kenneth Goodman
Yetta Goodman
Barbara Flores

NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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Foreword

The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education is pleased to present *Reading in the Bilingual Classroom: Literacy and Biliteracy*, by Kenneth Goodman, Yetta Goodman, and Barbara Flores. The authors have grounded their remarks in "the context of human language and language use." They discuss their topic from both philosophical and practical standpoints, taking the reader from an expansive discussion of literacy in the multilingual world through a series of pragmatic suggestions about issues such as evaluation and materials selection. The work should thus be of value to both the theorist and the classroom teacher.

Kenneth S. Goodman is Professor of Education at The University of Arizona and is a member of the Board of the International Reading Association. In 1975 he received the David H. Russell Award for Outstanding Research in English from the National Council of Teachers of English. His doctorate was completed at UCLA. Goodman's model of the reading process and his research on oral reading miscues are his best known work. He is coauthor of *Language and Thinking in School* (Holt). His most recent research, funded by the National Institute of Education, was a study of the English reading of eight different linguistic populations.

Yetta M. Goodman is Professor of Education at The University of Arizona and is currently president of the National Council of Teachers of English and the Center for the Expansion of Language and Thinking. A former elementary and secondary classroom teacher, Goodman has participated in bilingual research through miscue analysis and has developed teacher workshops in bilingual education. With Carolyn Burke, she has coauthored *Reading Miscue Inventory* (Macmillan); *Reading Strategies: Focus on Comprehension* (Holt) is presently in press. She obtained her doctorate at Wayne State University.

Barbara Flores is currently a doctoral candidate at The University of Arizona and a recipient of a bilingual education fellowship. Her major is reading with minors in bilingual education and higher education administration. She has been an elementary, secondary, and adult basic education teacher. The majority of her teaching was done in California with Chicano migrant workers and their children. In the past three years, she has been doing continuous inservice work with teachers in the Navajo

Nation and in southern Arizona. She is currently working on her dissertation which focuses on building a theoretical base for the concept of language influence among bilinguals.

National Clearinghouse
for Bilingual Education

Reading in the Bilingual Classroom: Literacy and Biliteracy

by
Kenneth Goodman
Yetta Goodman
Barbara Flores

Introduction

The purpose of this monograph is to examine the issues of reading in bilingual education. Our focus is primarily on the contemporary classroom in the United States. We examine the problems, issues, trends, and research. We suggest promising directions.

The past decade has been one of dynamic development, growth of interest, and controversy in both bilingual education and reading. In the United States, developments in school programs involving both have been entangled in legal and political issues. The result is lots of activity which doesn't always utilize the best knowledge. Within bilingual education concern for reading has seldom reflected current research and theory, and little research has focused on reading within bilingual programs.

We believe that we must begin this discussion by raising our eyes from focusing on the specifics of the classroom in the United States and see our issues and concerns in the context of human language and language use now and in the past; otherwise we run the risk of preoccupation with what is, rather than what is needed or what could be; otherwise we run the risk of losing the significant in a mass of trivia.

Note: We prefer to talk about literacy rather than reading because literacy includes both reading and writing. We use the term literacy in its full scope to include all the uses of written language, at all levels of proficiency.

Literacy in a Multilingual World

> And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there. And they said one to another: "Come, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly." And they had brick for stone and slime they had for mortar. And they said: "Come, let us build a city, and a tower with its top in heaven, and let us make us a name; lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded.
>
> And the Lord said: "Behold they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they begin to do; and now nothing will be withholden from them, which they propose to do. Come, let us go down, and there confound their language that they may not understand one another's speech." So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth; and they left off to build the city. therefore was the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth.
>
> Genesis 11:2

Thus does the Old Testament account for the multilingual world that was known in biblical times and has been revealed in all its complexity by modern linguistic scholarship.

Language, oral in its beginnings, developed in the many communities of humanity to meet the communicative needs of people who shared the same experiences, cultures, and life-space. It was a vital necessity of the human society and the individual in that society. Homo sapiens, the thinking social animal, needed and developed language to communicate his or her complex thoughts and needs to others of the species. Theirs was a here-and-now language. Travel was difficult and perilous. People lived their lives where they were born or traveled in small nomadic groups. Languages grew and developed in isolation from each other. Further as groups speaking the same language diverged and became separated from each other, their language forms grew apart to the point where they became separate dialects or even separate languages.

When human society became more complex and nations and governments emerged, national boundaries were superimposed on the language communities. Invasions were linguistic as well as military, but conquests took many forms. Languages were suppressed, amalgamated, or encapsuled. Conquerors emerged as ruling classes whose language differed from the language of the conquered. Linguistic minorities were sometimes surrounded but kept distinct. Sometimes the rulers them-

selves remained a linguistic minority eventually taking on, in modified form, the majority language. At other times segments of the population became multilingual, using the language of conquest for official matters, ancient languages for ceremonial matters, and popular languages for mundane matters.

Linguistic diversity is not a characteristic of the past. There is scarcely a country in the world today that could claim to be monolingual in any real sense, with no linguistic minorities, no significant dialect variations. Furthermore, historical linguistic conflicts reemerge as minorities assert their identity. Gaelic, Hebrew, Flemish, French-Canadian take on new meaning to their speakers or the descendents of their speakers.

The Emergence of Written Language

In the beginning, we have said language was oral. But oral language, at least until modern technology recently appeared, is both perishable and limited in scope. It cannot be used beyond the distance it can be heard. And once spoken, it is lost. If people or societies wish to pass on history, rituals, literature, the capacity of the oral tradition is limited since it must be stored in the minds of successive generations. Written language makes possible an infinite expansion of the social memory. The beginnings of written language have ancient roots indeed. Few human cultures have not had some form of script, tallies, and/or pictorial representations to meet some cultural needs. But only as societies developed complex cultures and as nations grew large was there the necessity for complete written forms to meet all the communicative needs a language must serve.

From the beginning, written language has had to cope with multilinguality. Since its purpose is to communicate over time and space, it is not easily confined to small communities with one common form of language. Further, with oral language changing over time, cultural documents are passed on which are often written in dead languages or archaic language forms: Sanskrit, Latin, Old Church Slavonic, Aramaic, or the English of King James. Small groups must be trained in each generation to interpret the ancient language for their contemporaries. Up until modern times, the need for written language was more societal than personal. While society needed to communicate over distance and society needed to preserve its history, laws, literature, and tradition, personal literacy by masses of people was unneeded; a small number of literate people could handle the job for the entire community.

This literacy did not even need to be in the national language, let alone all minority languages. Not until late in the Renaissance did literacy in popular languages like French, English, Spanish, Italian, German

emerge. Only classic languages were considered worthy of use in writing. Indeed in the early American colonies "Latin Grammar Schools" prepared the true scholars.

The Persian empire of Darius carried on its business at one stage through a "signal corps" of Hebrew scribes who used their own language. A small group of monks, literate in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, carried the burden for preserving and transmitting the essence of Western civilization through the Middle Ages of Europe. They also served the kings of their times in state matters. The office of scribe, a person who does the writing and reading for the community, still exists in many parts of the world.

What makes today's situation in the world and in the United States different is that civilization has become complex and considerable education is necessary even for basic participation economically and culturally in society. The need for mass literacy has emerged. Individuals and groups who are not literate cannot make it in general society. Now for the first time humanity must confront the need for universal literacy and what that means in multilingual nations in a multilingual world.

Literacy—But in Which Language(s): Issues and Alternatives

If all the inhabitants of a country spoke a common language with no more than minor dialectal differences, then that country, it would seem, could simply have a monolingual literacy program. All its citizens would learn to read and write the national language. Some few would need to be able to read and write other languages to carry on social, political, economic, and cultural interactions with other countries.

But suppose these other conditions for our hypothetical monolingual country:

- It is a small country, the only one in the world speaking its language. It is too small to afford to publish textbooks at the college level in technical and professional fields.
- Its economy depends on trade with near and distant countries. It cannot be self-sufficient.
- It has a history of being a colony of a European nation. The language of the former ruling nation is despised by some as a tool of imperialism, but it is revered by others as the means of economic and cultural development.

In this hypothetical monolingual country, we already have problems which complicate the issue of literacy. It appears that literacy in the national language will be limiting. The need to read texts in other languages to succeed in tertiary education seems to require introduction

of literacy in at least one foreign language in elementary or secondary schools. That language is likely to be the colonial one, but extensive teaching of literacy in the colonial language is likely to be controversial and politically explosive.

Now let's add the ingredients that will make the situation even more true to life.

- The country is not monolingual. A dialect of the language of the former colonial ruler is the home language of many, particularly the economically privileged. Further, there are minority groups who live in isolated sections of the country whose languages, religions, and traditions are different from the majority. The education system is inherited from the colonial power. The educated people of the country are the products of the system. Part of their status in the country derives from their education in the foreign tradition and their literacy in the colonial language.

- Resources for schools and publishing are extremely limited. Though the government is pledged to universal education and literacy, many people particularly in rural areas have little opportunity to acquire literacy or use what they acquire.

- Traditions among various subcultures exist which support education and literacy for some but not all. Some have religious prohibitions against education of women or certain castes.

Consider these real circumstances:

Yugoslavia has a national language, Serbo-Croatian. But its major population groups have different religious and cultural traditions. Roman Catholic Croatians use the Roman alphabet. Eastern Orthodox Serbs use the Cyrillic alphabet. Some Bosnians, and others, are Moslems and have a tradition of Arabic orthography. Further, there are Albanians, Hungarians, Gypsies, and other minority peoples who do not speak Serbo-Croatian as their first language. Schools in Yugoslavia must decide how many orthographies to teach and how widely to teach them. They must decide which languages to use in schools, when to introduce them, and when to begin literacy instruction in them. They must decide which foreign languages to introduce, when, and how widely.

Singapore, geographically part of Malaysia but politically independent, is another case in point. Until recent decades, it was a British crown colony with British educational traditions. It is dominated by Chinese who brought in a variety of Chinese dialects. Indians brought other languages, notably Tamil. The Japanese occupied it in World War II. Many of its students must go abroad for higher education. The indigenous language, Malay, is spoken only by a low status minority.

The choices here involve which language or languages will be official, which used for education, and in which will literacy be sought. For some groups in Singapore, bilinguality and biliteracy have been a fact of life for generations. There are functional reasons for maintaining two or more languages.

West Africa has another set of conditions starting with national borders that reflect colonial treaties but not cultural and linguistic realities. Many dialects of many languages are found in each country superimposed by English, French, or Portuguese and a form of West African Pidgin. The countries inherit a colonial educational system with instruction and literacy largely in the colonial language. Education is essential but disproportionately expensive compared to developed nations. Schools are too few and often minimal. Written representation of many tribal languages exists, thanks to missionary linguists, but little written material exists in any of these indigenous languages. Focusing literacy education on English or French means closing off opportunity to a majority who speak neither. But literacy in each native language would be expensive, hard to achieve, and some would argue divisive. Selecting a single African language for education and literacy is possible but may be politically less acceptable than the choice of the colonial language in some African nations.

These modern realities serve to highlight the key considerations that are involved in developing literacy in multilingual countries. Here, in essence, are these key considerations:

1. All literacy programs must be based on careful consideration of linguistic realities in a given country, region, or community.
   (a) How many languages are there and who speaks them? How are they related? To what extent are they mutually intelligible?
   (b) To what extent does a tradition of literacy exist in each language? To what extent do print materials in the language exist?
   (c) What attitudes exist among the population toward languages and literacy in them? Do people value literacy in general and literacy in particular languages?
   (d) Do people need to be literate? How would literacy change their life style, or conversely what changes in their circumstances of life would cause them to need to be literate?
2. Literacy programs must be in tune with political, economic, and cultural realities.
   (a) What national policies exist toward the language(s) of the area and literacy in them? Who in the country determines

and supports these policies? In whose interest are they? What conflict or potential conflict exists over them?

(b) What religious, ethnic, and cultural traditions and historical patterns exist?

(c) What economic support is there for literacy and in which language? How would changes in economic conditions affect need for literacy and vice versa?

3. Literacy programs must relate realistically to existing and potential educational programs.

(a) Who controls schools?

(b) How are schools supported? Whose children attend public schools? What are the goals of public schools as publicly stated? as seen by the privileged? as seen by the poor? as seen by linguistic minorities?

(c) What forces in society are supporting the status quo in education and what forces are seeking change?

Though these questions may not all seem directly related to literacy and bilingualism, all must be considered foundational to any consideration of the topic in any real context. Before we can consider whether biliteracy is desirable or possible, before we can get at the optimal methods and materials, we must know the realities in which the tasks are undertaken.

The Scene in the United States in World Perspective

At international conferences when educators from other countries hear North Americans discussing literacy problems and bilingualism, they show great dismay. They see North America as wealthy with immense educational resources. To them illiterates are those who've never been to school. In many countries functional literacy is defined as a minimum number of years of schooling.

But the problems in the U.S. are real, though not yet encountered in many parts of the world. Where resources for education are limited and needs for trained people great, those who don't succeed are simply shunted aside into the unskilled work force. But, in one way or another, for good reasons and bad, U.S. schools are committed to educating all citizens at least through secondary school. They are committed by law, if not to equal education, at least to equal educational opportunity. Still they must, like everyone elsewhere, consider realities and not simply traditions in planning and evaluating programs.

Free public education in the United States had as one of its early justifications the "Americanization" of the immigrant. The schools were considered the major tool to be used in the melting pot that would turn polyglot immigrants into English-speaking Americans. That idea still persists. Only recently a Japanese American Senator spoke of the obligation of every immigrant to learn English as quickly as possible.

Most immigrants to America have come from the urban and rural poor in their homelands, "the wretched refuse of your teeming shores," Emma Lazarus called them. They have come largely unschooled and illiterate. If schools have been indifferent to their languages, they have certainly been indifferent to any obligation for developing literacy in languages other than English.

Americans developed a stereotype for themselves as a monolingual nation of English speakers with each successive wave of non-English-speaking immigrants losing the language of their homelands as quickly as possible.

While that pattern certainly is a major one, exceptions are worth noting.

- Native Americans continue, despite efforts of educational authority, other government agencies, and missionaries, to speak their

own languages, particularly on the reservations of the Western Plains and in the Southwest. Indigenous languages still are maintained also in Alaska, Hawaii, and American Samoa.

- Generations of Mexican Americans in the Southwest whose antecedents spoke Spanish before their homes became part of the United States continue to speak it.
- Puerto Rico, politically part of the United States, uses Spanish as its popular language. Puerto Rican migrants into Eastern cities continue to speak Spanish. Many among these latter come already literate, to various degrees, in Spanish.
- Many towns and villages in the Dakotas were settled by German, Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic immigrants who've maintained their languages and cultures over the years.
- Many immigrant groups established after-school programs to teach the home culture, language, and literacy.

The key social force in our country creating a pressure for reexamination of the language policy and curriculum of our schools is the emergence of movements among ethnic minorities for an end to discrimination and greater respect for minority cultures. Ironically this has pushed our schools in two directions in regard to bilingualism and literacy. On the one hand, there is pressure for more attention to programs of English for speakers of other languages, based on the theory that the schools must help non-English speakers to overcome their "handicap" and learn English. On the other hand, schools are encouraged to teach in the language of the learners at least in the beginning grades and even to plan programs for maintaining and developing the home language.

In many cases, minorities have had to go to courts and legislatures to gain response from school authorities to their demands. It is only since the *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* decision in 1954-1955 that significant legal action against school segregation began to make any mark in social policies and practices toward minority populations. With the Civil Rights Act of 1964, federal funds were authorized to provide technical assistance, training, and support to school boards dealing with desegregation of public elementary and secondary schools. Desegregation, according to the 1976 report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, had a dual meaning:

1. The assignment of students to public schools and within schools without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and

2. The assignment of students to public schools and within such schools in a manner which will provide all students with an equal opportunity for effective participation in education programs despite any English language deficiencies resulting from environments in which the dominant language is other than English. (p. 57)

The phrase beginning "despite any English language deficiencies . . ." marks the precedent of federal policy for language groups whose native tongues are other than English. From the beginning the focus of federal programs on English language deficiencies was reflected in the language of such programs: ESEA Titles I, III, and VII and the Adult Basic Education Act. In Title VII (the Bilingual Education Act), for example, linguistic minorities are referred to as "children of limited English proficiency." Programs are set up to meet the English language needs of linguistic minorities with little regard for the native language facility of the learners. The underlying assumption is that a deficit must exist within the learner. With legislation and programs taking a deficit point of view, research, curriculum development, and teaching practices follow suit. All tend to negate competence in the native language.

It's not surprising that the language of federal statutes suggests a view of language deficiency since such a view is not uncommon in the literature regarding linguistic minorities. García (1977) concludes that "the research and documents of the first six decades of this century, in effect, rendered the Mexican-American and his bilingualism—which have a history of more than two hundred years of linguistic and cultural development—speechless and cultureless" (p. 3).

There can be no doubt that schools in the United States are disproportionately unsuccessful in bringing literacy to bilingual populations. But a pattern of interrelationships of language, culture, social and economic status, ethnicity, and race is seen by many as characterizing low achievement in literacy and is sometimes treated as causal. Negative attitudes about cultural and linguistic minorities have prevailed in American society at large as well as in educational circles. It's easy to see why low achievement in literacy is often assumed to be the result of bilingualism. Often one hears bilingual children referred to as being nonfunctional in either language because they speak low status forms of both.

Some have attributed school failure in general to cultural deprivation. Bereiter and Englemann (1966) attributed minorities' failure in school to their linguistic deprivation. Manuel (1965) called the bilinguality of Mexican American students a "dual handicap" and a "language barrier" in school achievement. Peña (1975) assumed that "many factors contribute to the deficiencies of disadvantaged Spanish-speaking children in

reading—physical and economic deprivation, lack of motivation, lack of experiential background conducive to learning to read . . . and, in some instances actual discrimination, either overt or subtle" (p. 157).

It is the nonperformance or low performance on tests which is most often used as evidence of underachievement. Since bilingual groups within our schools often represent the economically poor within the United States, it is not surprising that these populations do not do well on standardized tests. Yet the validity of such tests is seldom challenged, and the results are often used to decide if programs are working or not.

In response to the growing visibility of these issues, linguistic minorities have sought relief in the courts. In recent years, landmark decisions have shifted to encouraging initial bilingual instruction in schools. In particular, the *Lau* v. *Nichols* (1974) case focused on the language used for instruction. This case was a class action suit brought against the San Francisco Unified School District by students of Chinese ancestry. This ruling, known as the Lau decision, basically states that either English instruction or instruction in Chinese might be employed. (Cordasco, 1976)

With the pressure from minority groups and the courts and with new funds from state and federal programs, school districts began to devise curriculum for bilingual programs while universities began to develop preservice and inservice programs to prepare bilingual teachers. These programs were quick responses to external pressures. Decisions were made concerning issues in bilingual education without the benefit of very much theory, research, or careful evaluation of the programs being developed.

Alternative Programs in Bilingual Education

Figure 1 presents the range of possibilities in the school's responses to bilingual or multilingual realities. It's organized as a series of alternatives focusing on maintenance, transitional, and English as a second language programs. The following discussion suggests the kind of literacy program each requires.

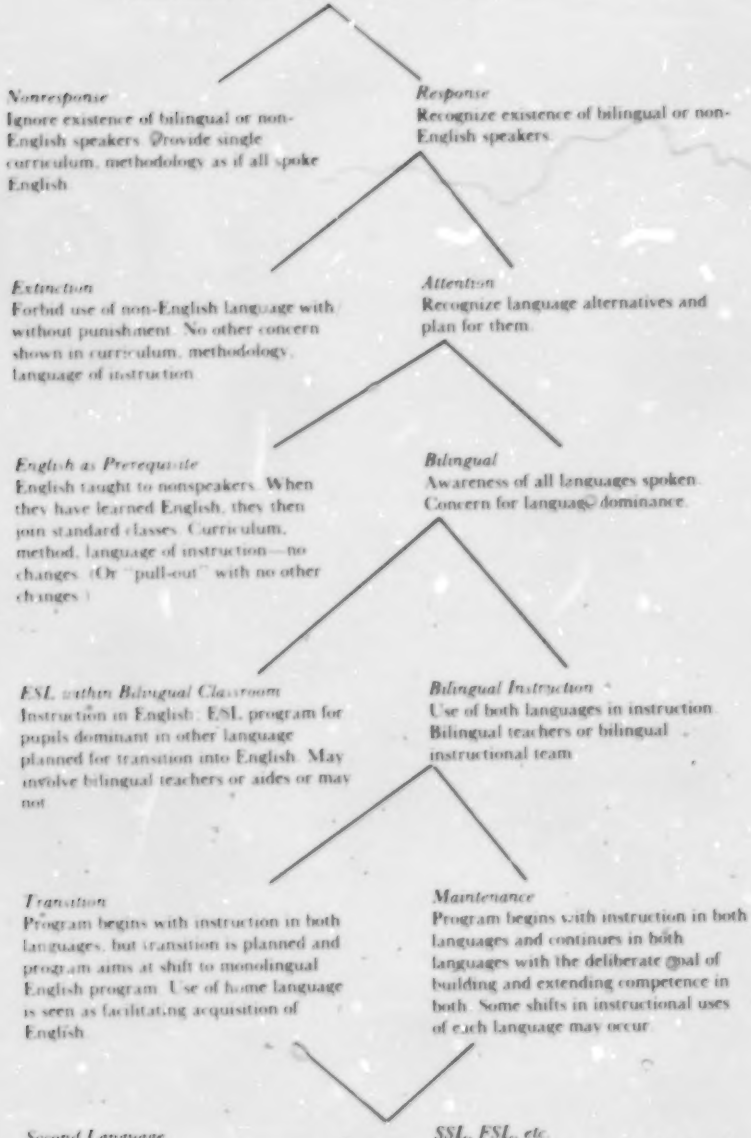
Any discussion of reading in relationship to bilingual education must consider the varied school settings and decisions that relate to bilinguality. Schools may either respond to linguistic diversity or ignore it. If they ignore it, then pupils are treated as if they are all speakers of English. That's a common reaction of schools particularly where bilingual pupils are infrequent. In such programs lack of control of English is often seen simply as poor reading.

If schools respond to linguistic diversity, they can take a negative view and work at extinguishing languages other than English. Such responses were common in the past. Many adults who came to school not speaking English can remember being punished for using their home language even on playgrounds. Deaf pupils sometimes had hands tied to keep them from signing. Schools in Alaska are now hiring native Alaskans as bilingual aides to teach in their own languages who were physically punished for using those languages in school when they themselves were pupils there. Current public policy, involving both state and federal legislation, requires some kind of response to bilingualism where it involves any appreciable number of pupils and prohibits extinction, per se, as a response. Still the roots of both nonresponse and extinction in American education are strong, so that common practices particularly in teaching the language arts reflect such views.

Nonresponse is reflected, for example, in the tendency to treat all unexpected responses in reading as error to be eliminated without considering first language influences. Or first language influences may be treated as malignancies to be excised from the reading. Pupils are then repeatedly corrected for even minor phonological deviations.

Attention to linguistic diversity that is not negative may also take two forms. The old tradition was to assign immigrants to "English for foreign-born classes." There they were taught English and then assigned

Figure 1
Alternative Programs in Bilingual Education


Nonresponse
Ignore existence of bilingual or non-English speakers. Provide single curriculum, methodology as if all spoke English.
Response
Recognize existence of bilingual or non-English speakers.
Extinction
Forbid use of non-English language with/without punishment. No other concern shown in curriculum, methodology, language of instruction.
Attention
Recognize language alternatives and plan for them.
English as Prerequisite
English taught to nonspeakers. When they have learned English, they then join standard classes. Curriculum, method, language of instruction—no changes. (Or "pull-out" with no other changes.)
Bilingual
Awareness of all languages spoken. Concern for language dominance.
ESL within Bilingual Classroom
Instruction in English. ESL program for pupils dominant in other language planned for transition into English. May involve bilingual teachers or aides or may not.
Bilingual Instruction
Use of both languages in instruction. Bilingual teachers or bilingual instructional team.
Transition
Program begins with instruction in both languages, but transition is planned and program aims at shift to monolingual English program. Use of home language is seen as facilitating acquisition of English.
Maintenance
Program begins with instruction in both languages and continues in both languages with the deliberate goal of building and extending competence in both. Some shifts in instructional uses of each language may occur.
Second Language
Instruction in minority language for nonethnic English speakers.
SSL, FSL, etc.
Home language instruction for those dominant in English.

to regular classes. A variation was to assign them to regular classes but pull them out for English classes. This approach couldn't be called a bilingual approach since the basic classrooms took no responsibility for the bilingual or non-English-speaking pupils. Somebody else was supposed to teach them English. Literacy in the home language was ignored as irrelevant.

Truly bilingual programs have built into them some attention to bilingual populations within the "regular" program. Again there are two alternatives. Either both languages are used in instruction, or English is still the sole language of instruction. In the latter case, the classroom includes bilingual children and the teachers or aides may be bilingual, but the focus is on the children learning and using English as a medium of instruction. ESL techniques are used within the class, and use of the home language(s) is confined to supplementing use of English. Some attention may be paid to home language literacy, but no attempt is made to foster its development.

If the instruction is in both home language and English, again there are two choices. The instruction in the home language may be used as a means of getting pupils started and establishing literacy while they develop control of English. This requires bilingual, biliterate teachers. But these programs are transitional because their goal is to bring the pupils to the point where all instruction can be in English. Pupils quickly learn that literacy in the home language is not as important as literacy in English since the latter is the ultimate goal.

The other choice is that both languages are treated as coequal. Instruction is in both languages and attention is given to building competence, including literacy in the home language as well as English. Literacy in both languages is a continuing focus and a constant value.

Both transitional and maintenance programs may include second-language instruction for those who are part of the bilingual culture but who are primarily English speakers. In some programs English speakers not part of an ethnic minority learn the minority language.

Within each of these alternatives, there are many variations possible. While all the alternatives of bilingual education are found to various degrees in schools of the U.S., the major focus in recent years has been on various forms of transitional and maintenance programs with concerns for social and political realities. It is related to these alternative programs that major discussions and controversies exist.

Mackey (1970) has provided a typology of bilingual decision making which is popular in the field of bilingual education today. His focus has been on the amount of time and degree of use of each language in programs. Mackey sees such decisions as based on four criteria: (1) the child's behavior in the home; (2) the school's curriculum; (3) the imme-

diate community; and (4) language status. In addition, the degree of language use is dependent on five categories: (1) medium of instruction; (2) development; (3) distribution; (4) direction; and (5) change. Mackey states, "The development pattern may be one of maintenance (M) of two or more languages, or of transfer (T) from one medium of instruction to another. . . . The direction may be toward assimilation into a dominant culture, toward acculturation (A), or toward integration into a resurgent one. . . . Or it may be neither one nor the other, but simply the maintenance of the languages at an equal level" (pp. 66, 67).

Kjolseth (1973) on the other hand argues for maintenance programs. He objects to transitional programs as assimilationist because, "The school's policy is essentially a 'burnt bridges' approach: the ethnic language is seen only as a bridge to the non-ethnic language—one to be crossed as rapidly as possible and then destroyed, at least as a legitimate medium of general instruction, although some voluntary classes in it as a foreign language may be maintained" (p. 13).

As we turn our focus from bilingual and biliterate issues in general to the more specific issue concerning literacy instruction in the schools of the U.S., some comments are in order. Although we search the literature carefully, we find little that we consider useful in providing direction for the development of curriculum in reading for schools.

There are good arguments and discussions concerned with the issues of bilingualism in a general sense. These are well presented and well documented. But there is little substantive work that extends these concepts into curriculum and methodology. Instead programs, methodology, and curriculum are often developed by relying on traditional methods and materials from monolingual schools in the United States or the country of origin of the first language. Such programs are evaluated using scores on standardized or reading achievement tests, and success or failure is tied to statistical results. The problems of testing, especially for linguistic minorities and the economically poor, have been well documented. For these reasons, we are skeptical of the review of research and school programs.

The Language of Literacy

Research related to reading instruction in bilingual education has basically centered on the initial language to be used. Advocates of two schools of thought have research to support each of their positions. Those who favor initial mother tongue teaching often cite the UNESCO study (1953), Barrera-Vásquez (1953), Österberg (1961), and Modiano (1968). These studies support use of the vernaculars or mother tongues in initial reading. On the other hand, findings from the St. Lambert Experiment by Lambert and Tucker (1972) and the Giles studies (Engles, 1975, and Giles, 1971) indicate that children who learn to speak and read in a non-mother tongue language immersion program can easily switch to reading their mother tongue language even though they are not taught to read in that language. The research shows that before they finish their elementary school years immersion program, children show no significant differences in reading their mother tongue as compared to control groups in normal programs. Other studies also suggest that the language of initial literacy is not significant to achievement in English literacy (Ramos et al., 1967, and Cohen, Frier, and Flores, 1973).

From a theoretical perspective, learning to read in one's home language will be easier than learning to read a second language, particularly an unfamiliar one. The learner brings to the task of learning to read his or her native language a syntactic and semantic knowledge of the language which makes it possible to predict the meaning of the written form.

What complicates research, however, on this topic is the set of socio-educational factors that surround the school. Knowing that literacy in the first language is easier doesn't automatically lead to an easy decision.

The following must be considered:

1. *The tradition of literacy in the home language and English.* What is there to read in the home language? To what extent are adults literate in the home language? How do they view literacy in the home language? Many Native American groups are not sure they want their languages written. Their oral traditions may somehow be violated if the languages can be written down. In some cultures, the children see little evidence of written use of the home language.

2. *The community attitude toward literacy in English.* Is literacy in English a prime purpose for sending children to school? Do parents feel that their community, ethnic, and religious organizations should handle the ethnic aspects of education including language and literacy?

3. *The availability of teachers and resources.* Are there teachers who are literate in the home language and competent to teach literacy in it? In many cultures even teachers fluent in the home language and ethnically part of the culture aren't comfortable reading and writing the language. This is particularly true in Native American schools. This limitation can influence both the quality of reading instruction and the choice of methodology. Teachers insecure in a language may prefer tightly programmed, text-based instruction where they can stay one step ahead of the learners.

4. *Other factors in the community.* What are other social, political, economic, and educational dynamics in the community which influence attitudes and functional uses of literacy in either language? Specifically the extent to which an ethnic "movement" has made its culture and language a political and educational issue will play a strong role in influencing the response of learners to home language literacy.

In American schools, as in those of every country, theory and research can answer questions about literacy, how it is learned and how best to teach it, but that information must be put into a social-cultural context to make basic bilingual educational curriculum decisions.

Three Common Assumptions

Three major assumptions have dominated curricular suggestions in bilingual literacy programs. One common assumption guiding the instruction has been that *before children can learn to read, they must have oral proficiency in the language to be read.* This suggests that children should be taught either to read in their native language or that before bilingual children are introduced to English reading, they must have oral command of English. Advocates of this notion make the following statements:

> Teaching English as a second language should definitely begin with oral language development. Reading should not be taught at all until they have attained sufficient command of oral language including comprehension skills. (Mills et al., 1977, p. 46)
>
> Before bilingual children can learn to read English, they must be able to understand and speak it effectively. Frequently, teachers push children into reading before they can understand English well and speak it fluently. (Ching, 1976, p. 4)

This assumption stems from the recognition by linguists that oral language is primary in language both in development and importance. This recognition has lead, in second-language teaching, to a shift away from concentration on paper and pencil, book-oriented activities to oral conversations and pattern drills.

But language learning is motivated by functional need. Many people in non-English-speaking countries have more need to read English than to speak and understand spoken English. Even children who are already literate to some extent in their native language seem to be able to learn oral and written English simultaneously, using the two forms to support each other in developing control of English. Reading as a receptive language process seems to develop more rapidly than speaking, a productive process. It is not uncommon for nonnative speakers of English to understand what they have read but not be able to retell it orally in English. Reading need not then follow oral development but may be parallel to it and contribute to general language control.

This doesn't mean that oral language development is not of major importance. But it does mean that the issue of when to begin instruction in reading in relationship to oral language development is not automatic. In many cases, it can begin simultaneously with oral language beginnings.

In our experience we've found that if bilingual speakers are literate in another language, their development of literacy in English will be easier than for people not literate in any language; and further, their control of English will be speeded as a result of their rapid progress in becoming literate in English. All this assumes that oral and written English are equally needed and functional and that the opportunity to use both is present. There are people who learn English as a second language who don't learn to read and write English. There are also people, mostly students in non-English-speaking countries, who learn to read and write English but not speak it. In both cases this is a function of the uses of English that the learner needs the most. Teachers will do well to keep this in mind in planning instruction, supporting learning, and judging linguistic competence. Teachers must be alert to the functional needs of learners and help them develop a sense of the functions of literacy.

A second assumption, widely held, about reading instruction in languages other than English, in particular Spanish and Indian languages, is that *since they have more "regular" grapheme-phoneme correspondence, it is much easier for the student to learn to read initially in the native language by introducing the relationship between sound and letter, using phonics as the basic focus.*

> It must be remembered that Spanish orthography, as well as Tzeltal and Tzotail orthographies, are far more regular than English and lend themselves more readily to a phonics approach. (Modiano, 1968b, p. 39)

This view grows from the implicit belief that literacy in alphabetically written languages is mainly learning the letter-sound or phoneme-grapheme relationships.

This second assumption is a common sense view largely abandoned by professionals in reading. It implies that reading difficulties are due exclusively to complexities of English spelling. This idea supports a common notion that reading difficulties don't happen in languages other than English. Yet English-speaking countries are among the world's most literate. While literacy is largely related to access to education, still the largest dropout rate in many Latin American countries is in the first two years, and that may be due in part to lack of success in learning to read. There are children who have difficulties learning to read all languages in all countries.

All languages, including Indian languages, have dialect variants which cannot equally correspond on a phoneme-grapheme level to the spelling system of the language. We now understand that people can tolerate a great deal of orthographic complexity in reading because syntactic and semantic factors minimize the dependency on the orthography.

Modern Japanese is written with a complex mixture of syllabic symbols, Chinese characters, simplified Chinese characters, and Roman letters. It is written horizontally, left to right, or vertically right to left, often with both formats in the same text. Yet Japan has an extremely high rate of literacy. This seems to be the result of strong cultural factors which cause Japanese parents to give intense support for development of literacy. Millions of copies of preschool magazines are sold door-to-door in Japan, and many Japanese children come to school already able to read to a considerable extent.

Spelling English is complex but that has little to do with the difficulty of reading it. The greater "regularity" in correspondence between sound and spelling in other languages does not make them easier to learn to read. "Reading problems" are not unique to reading English.

A third assumption is related to the second. *We'll call it the "decoding" fallacy.* It is based on an unexamined view of the reading process. Few writers of bilingual reading programs address themselves to how the reading process works except in relation to phoneme-grapheme differences. The assumption is that *reading is responding to print with speech*; this process is mislabeled "decoding." This idea is linked with the second assumption to conclude that the degree of regularity of the relationship between sounds and letters will determine the way literacy is acquired. Herbert concludes,

> Many methods in the teaching of literacy in English include ingenious and complex devices to show the underlying system in a written language that is intricate and often times irregular. The Spanish writing system, on the other hand, has relatively uncomplicated phoneme-grapheme correspondence with few irregularities. It seems then that many of the methodologies employed to teach literacy in English do not apply to the teaching of that skill in Spanish. (Herbert, 1972, p. 7)

This view that reading is "decoding" print to speech is also supported in *A Better Chance to Learn: Bilingual Bicultural Education* (1975):

> Some languages are easier to learn to read than others. The greater the phonetic correspondence between the written symbol and the sounds, the easier the language is to decode and consequently to read. Decoding skills are easier to learn in Spanish or Navajo because the Spanish and Navajo written codes are phonetically consistent with the oral language. (1975, p. 52)

There is no research evidence to support the idea that a language with a more "regular" orthography is easier to learn to read. Nor is there

any research evidence to support the more general assumption that one language is easier to learn to read than another, that the reading process is different in different languages, or that different methods are more appropriate for teaching literacy in one language rather than another.

All these assumptions are built on this view that reading involves only going from print to speech. Once that is set aside and reading is seen as a process of constructing meaning from print, a receptive language process parallel to listening, then reading and learning to read can be put in proper perspective. Regardless of the orthography, readers, like listeners, are preoccupied with comprehension. They predict meaning, syntactic structures, and the written language forms which express the language. These aspects of reading are universal and create the parameters in which the features of each writing system and language are used.

Learning to read is learning to make sense of written language. No method which focuses only on "decoding" (we prefer to call it recoding), whether on a phoneme-grapheme, syllable-spelling pattern, or word level can be considered a complete instructional program for any language, no matter how "regularly" it is spelled.

Reading Concerns

The basic decisions about languages will set the parameters for decisions about reading. If no concern is given to languages other than English, the only reading instruction will be in English, and there will be no concern for how learning to read in English is influenced by the mother tongue of bilingual pupils.

Most bilingual programs will show some concern for the influence of the mother tongue on pupils' learning to read English. But only in those where literacy instruction is in both languages will there be concern for methods of teaching reading in non-English languages.

The following discussion of reading and reading instruction must therefore be related to our earlier discussion of the range of bilingual program alternatives. Choices made about how home language is treated and which languages are the languages of instruction are the base for literacy decisions.

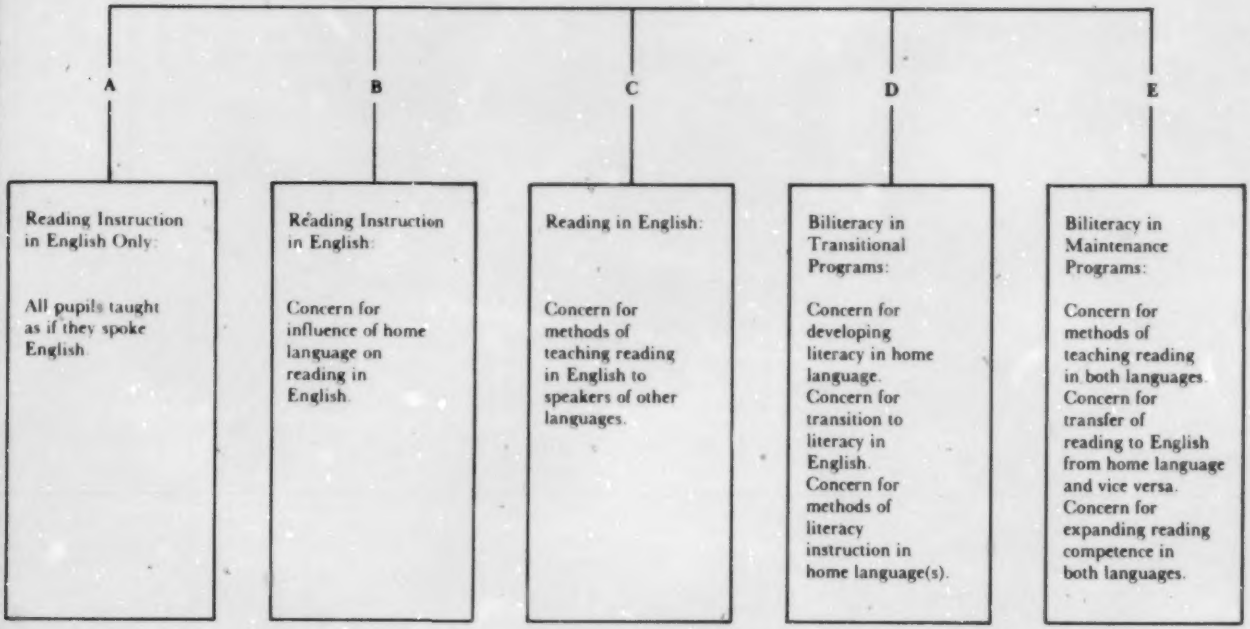
In Figure 2 *A* represents a total focus on instruction on reading in English with no attention to the influence of the learner's home language. At point *B* only English reading instruction is offered, but influence of the home language is considered. *C* goes further to include ESL methods specifically designed to accommodate the learner's home language influences, but instruction is still only for literacy in English. *D* introduces biliteracy but only for transition, and *E* moves finally to instruction for maintaining literacy in both languages. Depending on the point in this continuum where school programs fall, all of the following concerns are involved.

What Is Reading?

To build methods of teaching reading in English or in other languages or to select from existing alternatives, it is important to define reading.

Our definition of reading comes from research which has examined the reading of various populations including bilingual readers since 1962. This research procedure known as reading miscue research was undertaken to try to provide knowledge and understanding about the reading process. In this procedure, the reader reads orally a long and complete story followed by an oral retelling. All the data is audiotaped for later analysis. The reader is given no aid as he or she reads but is encouraged to continue reading. The miscues, observed oral responses from readers,

Figure 2
The Reading Continuum
There is a possible continuum of attention to reading issues in schools with bilingual pupils.


A
B
C
D
E
Reading Instruction in English Only:
All pupils taught as if they spoke English
Reading Instruction in English:
Concern for influence of home language on reading in English.
Reading in English:
Concern for methods of teaching reading in English to speakers of other languages.
Biliteracy in Transitional Programs:
Concern for developing literacy in home language.
Concern for transition to literacy in English.
Concern for methods of literacy instruction in home language(s).
Biliteracy in Maintenance Programs:
Concern for methods of teaching reading in both languages.
Concern for transfer of reading to English from home language and vice versa.
Concern for expanding reading competence in both languages.

which do not match the expected responses, are then analyzed and compared using a complex linguistic taxonomy. From this analysis, it is possible to determine the degree to which a reader focuses on the various language systems (graphophonic, syntactic, and semantic) and the degree to which the reader is concerned with developing meaning while reading. Studies of miscue analysis have been done on various bilingual populations in the United States (Goodman and Goodman, 1978; Barrera, 1978; Romatowski, 1972; Hodes, 1976; Huddelson-López, 1975; Willoughby, 1977; and Ewoldt, 1977) and in languages other than English (Yiddish, German, Spanish, French, Hebrew, Mandarin, and Polish).

Reading is a receptive language process. As such, it is parallel to listening. Reading is a long-distance discussion between a reader and an author. Using a linguistic graphic representation the reader constructs his or her own meaning by interacting with the graphic representation which has been encoded by the author. The writer encodes thought as language, and the reader decodes language to thought. There is an essential interaction between language and thought in reading. Thus, reading is a psycholinguistic process.

Proficient readers especially, but all readers to some degree, focus on constructing meaning throughout the reading process. In order to be efficient at the process, readers are selective about the use of the cues available and use their own knowledge about language and their experiences to predict and construct meaning as they read.

Even proficient readers, however, cannot read everything they encounter in graphic representation. Proficiency is variable depending on the background brought by the reader to any given task.

In their search for meaning, readers employ two major strategies in a continuous and almost simultaneous processing. They are anticipating and predicting as they seek order and significance in their reading. As they predict, they also seek to verify their predictions. They monitor to confirm or disconfirm with the following information what they had expected. They reprocess when they find inconsistencies or their predictions are disconfirmed.

To read, readers use three cue systems in an interrelated fashion. They make use of the relationship between sounds and letters (in alphabetic languages), the syntactic relationships or grammar, and the semantic system.

How Is Reading Learned?

How do readers learn to process reading in this way? We have said reading is a language process parallel to listening. Young children learn to listen more rapidly than they learn to talk. The strategies which must operate in reading are the same ones which have been well devel-

oped in listening by children since before their first birthdays. Reading, however, is a response to the graphic representation encoded by an author while listeners respond to a speaker's oral production.

Readers in literate societies begin to organize the print environment in a similar way that they organized the speech environment. First they become aware that print communicates meaning and that print serves particular and significant functions in their own lives. Children probably become aware of print in their environment considerably before the age of school entry. They know written language says something because they see adults react to stop signs, select one kind of beer over another, pore over the ads in the newspaper to find out where to buy something, and recognize a particular product, state, college, or team by a particular symbol or logo.

In a print-oriented society, literacy development occurs naturally and quite easily for most of its citizens. Print even serves important personal functions for the young child as he or she selects a favorite cereal from the shelf, receives loving attention from an adult when a storybook is shared, and reads Grandpa's letter or birthday card.

TV is also a medium which bombards children with print as the advertisers try to entice the preschooler to eat, play with, chew, or brush with one item instead of another. And as parents of three-year-olds can attest, the children respond to the advertisements and often know exactly what they want to buy.

In communities where bilinguals live, TV is most often available. Second graders in Window Rock, Arizona, and Douglas, Arizona, can write stories about the Fonz or Spiderman. However, depending on the community, there may or may not be signs in the bilingual child's native tongue. On the Navajo reservation in the eighty miles between Holbrook and Canyon de Chelly, there are more than 150 signs of various kinds. They are all in English. However, in some neighborhoods in Los Angeles it is possible to walk down streets with signs such as *El Teatro*, *Tortillaria*, *Pan Dulce*. Many street signs will have Spanish names.

Regardless of which language children are responding to in the environment, they are already making significant learnings about written language. They begin to know that written language communicates. They begin to know that written language has prestige and that some people think it is important. They know that some people can read and write and others cannot. They begin to get some understanding about how the literate members of the community are valued. They begin to build some ideas about reading, and even to some degree, to anticipate the difficulties which they might encounter learning to read. Schools generally have not built on this knowledge or been sensitive to these subtle but important feelings about written language which children

bring to school. Schools generally have ignored any facility with written language which children bring to school or the awareness about the functions of written language that young children develop. Traditionally initial reading instruction is organized as if the child has had no previous encounters with print. Reading readiness programs often do not even start with written language but focus on pictures of circles, sticks, ducks, or gloves.

When we ignore what children come to school with, when we don't try to discover children's own ideas, notions, fears, and beliefs, we can confuse them easily, as we try to present the forms of written language in an abstract way which has little relevance to its function in the real world in which the child has learned to cope successfully for five years or more. Traditional programs often present the alphabet, or the sounds or syllables, without providing children with the relationship of these tasks to reading. This is confusing for most children. Many children overcome these problems because they have been responding to books for a number of years. Children who learn to read easily are often the ones who have been read to by adults in the home and who have been encouraged to participate in various literacy activities taking place in the family. They have already learned the book, newspaper, and letter writing functions of written language. They can take the isolated drill and not be hindered by it because they know many of the functions of written language. But children who do not know this are indeed hindered and narrowed if their initial entry to literacy is meaningless drill, naming, and memorizing, particularly when these exercises are not in their first language. Learning to read is natural, if children are surrounded by the variety of materials which help them understand that reading serves a variety of functions and is very significant to their everyday lives (Goodman and Goodman, 1976).

What Differences Occur in Developing Biliteracy?

We believe learning to read (the development of literacy) and reading itself (literacy) occur in the same way across cultures. Many cognitive psychologists are beginning to suggest that the underlying learning process is the same across all people (Niesser, 1976; Cole and Scribner, 1974). Differences are due to the different functions for which written language are used in the society, to the different status that written language has in the society, and the degree to which the reader controls the reading process itself. But there are no patterns so different that they make the reading of any group unique. Individuals show variation in how they use the reading process which reflects their linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

If there is little or nothing to read in a particular culture, literacy development is going to be very difficult if at all possible. When people are brought out of their communities to learn to read for a few weeks or months in a special setting and are thrust back into an environment in which written language hardly exists or has little importance to the inhabitants of the community, literacy development is doomed. However, if each community member is responsible to teach every other member and if there are relevant, useful materials to be read, then learning to read will be more successful.

Our own recent research study which included four different populations of bilingual children reading English may be used to provide further examples (Goodman and Goodman, 1978). The four groups represent disparate bilingual populations. They differ not only in their first languages but also in culture, history, and relationship to the English language and English speakers.

Our Texas Spanish-speaking subjects come from an area where Spanish historically has been the language of the region. Movement across the border has been continuous for several hundred years. Residents have close cultural ties to Mexico, and the majority still speak Spanish. They have receptive and productive control of the dialects of both languages common to their area. In neither case are these high status dialects; in fact they influence each other, with Spanish interacting with English and English influencing Spanish.

Our Arabic subjects represent the transitional linguistic setting of urban immigrants to the United States. They usually arrive, in the schools of the industrial Midwest, monolingual speakers of one of the many dialects of Arabic. Though their community is largely composed of other Arab immigrants, they are immersed in a larger English-speaking community and culture. Their need for receptive and productive control of English is clear and highly motivating. They have chosen between one home and another, and the cultural group seems anxious to immerse themselves in the new culture.

The Hawaiian Samoan group, like the Arabic children, are cultural and linguistic migrants to an urban community. However, the English of the surrounding community in inner city Honolulu is Hawaiian Pidgin, the creole of the Hawaiian Islands. This differs from the dialect of instruction, Hawaiian Standard English.

The Navajo subjects live the life of their ancestors in the place of their ancestors. The language and culture of the United States have come to surround them and confront them. The language of the home of these Native Americans is Navajo. When the children come to boarding schools, their English is minimal or nonexistent. There is little that relates the world of home and school.

The specifics of this study are reported elsewhere (Goodman and Goodman, 1978); however, there are generalizations that are pertinent to our discussion here. This research reveals no linguistic incompetents. The children in all these studies read better than their test scores predict. Not just reading tests but IQ tests as well turn out to be worse than useless in assessing the subjects. Cultural inappropriateness, language mismatch, irrelevance of school tasks, experiential diversity—all are factors in this.

Language diversity has to be one of the most salient features of bilingual readers. If they are fluent speakers of English, they will act like native speakers in reading English. If they are monolingual speakers of another language, they will be unable to respond to English writing except as it relates to another language in which they may be literate. But as they become bilingual, the readers will show this in their reading as they do in their speech. Their reading will reflect not only their first language but the extent to which they are coming to control English phonology, grammar, orthography, lexicon, and idiom. If they are learning to read English while they are learning to speak and understand spoken English, their reading will both reflect and contribute to their growing control. In general, they will use their focus on the meaning of written English as a means of deriving its syntactic rules and its lexicon. That this happens while reading should be no surprise; it's the basic way that language is learned. What we can perhaps add to this commonly accepted understanding is that people learn languages through reading and writing them as well as through listening to and speaking them.

The effects of developing receptive and productive control of English among those who come to English as a second language include:

1. Noticeable but superficial differences, in which case the process can still be relatively efficient and effective
2. Limitations in the ability of readers to express what they have understood in English
3. Some disruption to comprehension, which may be minor or severe

The importance of superficial differences is unfortunately exaggerated by some teachers and evaluative devices. What is important is how much second language influences disrupt comprehension. The most common type of second-language influence involves inflectional endings. Yet there is no evidence that these have any adverse affect on comprehension. Generally, second-language readers show more varied kinds of syntactic patterns in their retellings than in their reading. This suggests that they are in a transition with their syntactic control and the type of language they are interacting with has an influence on the degree of control

they show. One example of this can be shown by the Texas Hispanic child who read "How old he is?" for "How old is he?" The next sentence, "'Eight months,' I said. 'But he's going on nine,'" he read without miscues. In the retelling the subject said, "The man ask him how old is he and he said, 'He's going to nine.'"

Not only may dialect differences or second-language influence differences turn out to be unimportant in reading, but even inappropriate pronunciations for words which are well developed throughout the text could also have only superficial effects in terms of gaining meaning. Some of the Arab children read a story which included the word *plow* and its derivatives a number of times. Few ever said it appropriately each of the many times it occurred, and many tried a variety of pronunciations all showing use of graphophonic awarenesses. *Blow, plō* (rhyme with *blow*), and *plōwing* were but some of the most common examples. However, everyone of the subjects was able to describe the instrument as well as the activity during their retelling either in English or Arabic.

There is little question that these subjects could understand more about what they were reading than they were able to produce. This may relate to the concept that receptive control is greater than productive control of a language.

There is a confusion in the literature and in the minds of teachers about the difference between receptive and productive control of language. Teachers assume that what a child can say is an indication of what he or she can understand. What gets lost is that often children acquiring English as a second language understand much more in listening and reading than they can say or write. It may even be possible that some children, who for cultural reasons are silent in relation to teachers, may produce more written language than spoken language given relevant experiences.

When we were in a position to have a native speaker of the language question our subjects, there were additional aspects of the story revealed which were not provided in English, and often the children were able to relate a great deal more about the story.

Although all of our groups showed considerable control over English syntax and no notable problem dealing with the phonic relationships in English, all groups on an average showed less ability to construct meaning as they read than monolingual English-speaking children reading the same stories. If there was a general problem for these second-language readers, it was making sense. This may be due to a number of factors. Instructional programs for bilingual children often focus the attention of the learner on the skills of reading, rather than on the need for personal engagement of the reader with the purpose of seeking meaning. There

may have been misunderstandings between our researchers and bilingual youngsters. Words like *like* and *feel* sometimes have fewer meanings for them. Questions such as, "What was Freddie like?" or "How did he feel?" produced answers such as "He like to do 'speriments" or "He feel on his leg." Regardless of the reasons, bilingual readers seem to be steered by instruction to be more concerned with the form the language takes rather than with its purpose to him- or herself as a reader.

We believe that bilingual learners need not be totally proficient in both productive and receptive English to learn to read English and to get considerable meaning from their reading. The language limitations interact with cultural and experiential factors and needs, and all affect reading. One cannot read an unknown language. But as the language becomes known, the language systems and the strategies are at work even as language control develops. In fact, we learn language through using it. So we see our second-language readers learning English as they read it. They can sometimes comprehend what they cannot yet express. They miss subtlety and idiom or shift away from English syntax in retellings.

The following are examples from story retellings of some of the Arabic-speaking fourth graders in our research.

Here a reader deals with a well-understood story sequence in his developing English:

"They were working at to plant something and his father always pulled the polo and it was very hard. Salom tried to get the donkey and tried to pull it, but the donkey couldn't. . . . And then he tried the camel to pull it and he couldn't and then they both push the solo and it worked and it went deep under the earth and it went just straight."

The researcher, probing for the concept of the *plow*, asks, "What's a solo?" The reader draws on personal experience in his response. "Well, it's a thing with two handles and something pointing down. You got to pull it, but they don't push it with a camel; they push it with a cow. When the cow moves, the one who's pushing it gotta push on it so it . . . so it goes deeper in the underground."

Another reader gropes to explain a situation of a little girl stuck in a dark closet. "And one day his sister stuck in door . . . inside of door, in . . . the door it would not open."

Later the same reader shows developing control of English question patterns. "At breakfast he said, 'Why the clock didn't ring?'"

All the factors which we have outlined, the reading process, learning to read, and the differences which prevail for bilingual readers must be taken into consideration in order to plan a curriculum.

Reading in a Bilingual, Biliterate Curriculum

The basic assumptions on which to build a curriculum for bilingual education including biliteracy must be based on sound views about language and learning. We believe:

1. Language development is the same in school and outside of school.
2. Literacy is naturally acquired in a literate environment.
3. Reading is a means to an end and not an end in itself.
4. Children need to be actively involved in learning.
5. Language is learned and cannot be taught in the traditional sense (i.e., the learner is not an empty vessel into which the teacher pours knowledge).
6. Curriculum development must consider the interrelationship of learning theory, organization, instruction; content, materials, methods, and evaluation.

We believe that bilingual education is in need of some boldly innovative curriculum designs.

A Comprehension-Centered Curriculum

If biliteracy is the goal of the community and schools, bilingual programs imply a decision near the maintenance end of the bilingual continuum presented in Figure 1 (p. 16). Literacy is language. To prosper, all language learning must be functional for the learner at the time of learning. That is, the learner must see its significance and purpose. All bilingual students know one or more languages well. They have no difficulty learning language. If reading and writing are functional to them, they will learn them easily and well. Motivation for biliteracy must be built on the base of personal and social language functions. The environment which surrounds the learner must be biliterate.

Literacy can only be relevant and functional in the context of a relevant and functional curriculum. Such a curriculum allows for the natural acquisition of literacy and biliteracy by building on what learners know, their language, culture, interests, and common experiences. The various

tasks of reading and writing need to relate directly to the students' experiences. It is simply not possible to treat literacy as an isolated set of skills and expect children to learn. In too many programs for bilingual children, there is too much concern for form without function, too much tradition and too little relevance, too much focus on skill and not enough on comprehension, too much making kids adapt to the curriculum rather than adapting the curriculum to the kids. That is not good for any learners; for bilinguals it can be tragic.

Curriculum must be meaningful to the child. A curriculum based on the belief that children must be actively involved in their learning is organized to help students raise questions about their learning in relation to their concerns and interests (Goodman and Watson, 1977).

Organizing the Environment

What can be done to make the school environment a biliterate one? Signs which already occur in only one language should include the second language as well. Information such as announcements, posters, daily bulletins, and reports should be biliterate. They should not be exact translations. Information should be presented in each language, choosing the one most appropriate for the function. Students will begin to see that both languages are considered important enough to occur in written form and that both languages are equally useful and valued. Bulletin boards, math centers and store corners, signs within the classroom, classroom or school post offices, newspapers, magazines, directions, as well as books should be available in both languages.

Content

Too often the content of the curriculum has been divided into separate periods for science, social studies, art, music, reading, spelling, handwriting, etc. Biliteracy can be developed in such a traditional school program. However, this often promotes the fragmentation of knowledge. The various subject matter areas should be combined as the learners solve problems related to themes or units. If the program cannot be totally integrated, certainly the language arts themselves can be integrated with other subject matter areas so that students see how language is used as a tool to learning rather than as an end in itself. Perhaps then when a Navajo eighth grader is asked, "Why did the author write this story?" after he has read a novel about his own history (*Sing Down the Moon* by Scott O'Dell), he might have an answer other than "to teach me new words."

Integrating subject matter around a central theme or unit of work often grows out of a problem which the students may have selected such as noise pollution, scarcity of water, conflict on the playground, land use,

vanishing species, changes in family structure, etc. The problems which the students identify are most often relevant and meaningful to the students. Field trips are often part of such programs which adds new functional purposes for writing. Letters have to be written, maps have to be drawn, records have to be kept, and petitions have to be drawn up. Listening, speaking, reading, and writing become functional and purposeful. All these activities should be done in the two languages. The content is the base for constructing knowledge while knowledge is received by the learner through reading and listening or sharing with others through writing and speaking.

Methods

There are a variety of methods which can be used which facilitate a comprehension-centered program for biliterates (Goodman and Watson, 1977).

1. Reading to Children

   Time must be found to read to children daily. All humans have greater receptive control than productive control. That is, they can understand through listening and reading more than they are able to produce through speaking and writing. Children can be read to from the literature of both languages that they are learning. This provides them with fine literature they cannot yet read for themselves, and it tunes their ears to structures of language and knowledge they cannot get through reading on their own. It allows learners to hear prose and poetry written in a variety of moods and styles of many different authors. This experience prepares them for their own encounters with a variety of styles in their own reading. The material read to the students may be related to the unit themes being studied.

2. Students as Authors

   When students become authors themselves, they have the opportunity to become consciously aware of how functional written language is. Writing brings written language components to a more conscious level. Writing should be encouraged in the same languages the children are reading. It should occur daily, related to other learning experiences. Writing letters to the local newspapers, writing reactions to observations and experimentations, writing about personal experiences can all be related to themes and units. Writing can be stimulated by picture books without words (*Wordless Book List*, Children's Book Council, Inc., 1974) or uncaptioned pictures. Just as everything a student reads does

not have to be questioned, everything a student writes does not have to be monitored. With the teacher's aid, the students select the stories that they have written which they like best to be edited, put into final form, bound, catalogued, and placed on a classroom or school library shelf for peers to read. It is helpful to writing development to provide audiences other than the teacher whenever possible. There can be opportunities for high school and community college students to write for elementary-school-aged children. Elementary-level children can write for those in earlier grades or for each other. In such a dynamic writing environment, learners see writing as a process for communication.

3. Reading Strategy Lessons

There are times when reading can be highlighted for the students so that they begin to learn about the process of reading. Students can be helped through strategy lessons to know that it is legitimate to *predict* when one reads, that efficient readers *confirm* by continuing reading even when they are not sure of all the words, and that if what is being read doesn't make sense, it is appropriate to reread and self-correct or to put the material away and find something easier or more interesting. Readers must be consciously aware that reading must make sense. Lessons should take place in the reading of both languages. It might be interesting to do the reading in one language and the discussion in the other. Three strategy lessons follow:

a. The teacher encourages readers to predict what is going to happen next at a particularly significant point in the story or article. Prior to the climax of a story, students suggest their own solutions and, after reading how the author solved the problem, discuss which of the various solutions they prefer and why.

b. The teacher writes a story using both languages. Syntax should be kept intact, but even within one sentence, a phrase or word from the second language might occur. After the reading, the students list words, concepts, or characters and in which language each was written. The students discuss their different perceptions and explore the words and phrases which they remembered as well as the story meaning. Then the students reread the original material and again discuss their differences. This helps the students realize that the surface of the

language, the print that they perceive, is not most important; rather the significant part of reading is the search for meaning.

c. The teacher constructs a story including a word or phrase unknown to the students (sometimes a nonsense item might be used) which is significant to the meaning and occurs frequently in the text. The students are encouraged to continue reading to the end of the material. At the end, the students discuss the concept they developed from the unknown item and what cues from the text they used to build the meaning even when they weren't certain about the particular item. This helps readers continue reading even when they come to unknown items in the text. They also learn that meaning is in the context of the material and not simply in a single word or phrase. It's particularly appropriate for bilinguals insecure about their vocabularies in English.

Materials

Materials are necessary tools but should not be allowed to become the curriculum itself. Material must be varied and in both languages; however, attempts at word-for-word translation should be avoided. No material can be written well if it is constrained by the syntax of another language. Well-adapted material makes use of the appropriate syntax and idiom of the language, and the translation of materials should not be considered a simple task. Materials in both languages should include encyclopedias, charts, maps, science kits, almanacs, geography books, cookbooks, folk literature, comic books, magazines, store catalogues, food cartons, advertisements, etc. The more material available in both languages, the more opportunity the students have to see that both languages are considered valuable enough to have written material and to select materials which are relevant and functional for their personal and academic needs. When a single type of material is used as a program, it narrows the reader's view about literacy. Students do not become aware of the variety of materials, the various functions of written materials, and shifts in reading strategies needed for differences in materials. Published texts including basal readers may be available as instructional materials but not relied on as the single focus of any program. Not only would this narrow the curriculum, but basals are not likely to be particularly relevant. However, they can be rewritten, updated, or expanded by students themselves to make them more relevant or accurate. Irrelevant skills programs should be particularly avoided. They shift the focus away from meaningful uses, are unlikely to be suited to the language of the learner,

and fragment language into hard-to-learn abstractions. Few publishing companies are willing to expend the monies necessary to develop materials for particular populations in particular settings in languages other than English. State and local funds may be sought or lobbied for to develop periodic magazines or books which reflect the specific cultures of a region. Such efforts will not only provide needed culturally relevant materials for a particular group but will also encourage the creative talents of local young people. *The Foxfire Books* are good examples of these kinds of materials (Wigginton, 1972, 1973, 1975).

Children's literature in languages other than English can be found in a variety of places:

- The curriculum materials center in the school
- The children's library section at the local or metropolitan library
- Book stores
- University or college libraries
- *Children's Books in Print*
- Proyecto Leer
- Education Resources Information Center (ERIC)
- Bilingual materials centers

(See appendix for specific information.)

Evaluation

It is important to evaluate what has been learned. However, innovative programs need innovative evaluation schemes. In such programs, the student and teacher meet together to discuss the student's progress and discuss plans for development. Record keeping includes actual writing samples and tapes of the student's oral reading. These samples can be viewed and listened to by the teacher and student together, and growth can be noted. Experience in miscue analysis can provide the teacher with a framework and a tool for monitoring reading (Goodman and Burke, 1972). But the best evaluation is the ongoing observation of the student in relation to the need for reading in the classroom. Is the student involved in reading? Is the student flexible—can he or she read a wide variety of materials? Can the student solve problems through reading without a great deal of teacher support? Does the student share what he or she reads with others? We believe that it is through a curriculum in which a student can feel involved that the most lasting kinds of learning takes place.

Conclusion: Focus on the Teacher

Literacy is not simply a result of teaching someone to read by some method and evaluating by some standardized test. The issues surrounding literacy are blurred and confused by language difference, social attitudes towards language, language teaching and language learning, politics, economics, psychology, and law.

A common view among educational authorities and funding agencies is that failure to learn to read results from failure to be taught reading and that reading failure is the cause of general academic failure. This view leads to intensive focus on teaching reading—often at the exclusion of all else, often without concern for the content of reading, its function, or purpose, often with "no nonsense, back to basic" methods.

Yet the bilingual students' response to literacy instruction is part of their general response to school. If school is relevant, if its curriculum and goals are consistent with the functional needs of the pupils, if it accepts their language and culture and builds on it, then children will respond to school and grow. But if the school is irrelevant and insensitive, the pupils will only make whatever minimal accommodations they can to its demands.

If bilingual students are failing to achieve well in reading, this is evidence that they have not come to view literacy as necessary and also that the curriculum in the school is not in tune with the children.

We know of no one who is more significant in changing a child's view of literacy and organizing the classroom so that the curriculum is in tune with the children than the classroom teacher.

This is not to add additional responsibility to the teacher but to emphasize the role he or she plays. Of course, the teacher's responsibilities are facilitated by supportive administrators and parents, a relevant curriculum, and appropriate materials. Yet it is the teacher who spends a great deal of time with the children providing cues about the child's language, culture, and learning potential.

Teacher education, both for preservice and inservice teaching, must place major emphasis on building knowledge and attitudes about language and about language difference. Teachers should be involved with actual analysis of the language of pupils. Such training provides a reality base for developing concepts of linguistics (including psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics), particularly as they relate to reading.

It confronts the beliefs and attitudes about language difference and language learning held by teachers. Training can't guarantee that these attitudes will change, but it can assure that teachers will examine their attitudes in the face of the real performance of real pupils.

Sometimes bilingual students have trouble telling in English what they understand about their reading. Sometimes teachers have trouble understanding them. Sometimes cultural barriers make it hard to find out what a reader has understood. However, bilingual subjects are functionally competent in at least one language and, after even a short time in a school setting, they will provide growing evidence to sensitive, informed teachers through their reading miscues and their retellings that they are growing in their competence in making sense from printed English.

Teachers need to be informed about the nature of the reading process (Goodman and Niles, 1970). Only if teachers understand how this process works can they see the order in the mismatches of their pupils and tell sense from chaos, strength from weakness. Only then can they see how the complex process of reading is being affected by the language background of the pupils and their relative stage of development in acquiring English.

Within this understanding of the reading process, it becomes possible to monitor the process while at the same time maintaining a sensitivity to the development in English of bilingual pupils. Teachers do, of course, need to be aware of the language background of their pupils, whether their home language is a dialect of English or if their English is influenced by a second language in the home or another language. They need to relate the language of the learners to their culture and be sensitive to cultural constraints on how language may be used.

All teachers and particularly teachers of second-language learners need to know a good deal about language and language variation. But knowing is not enough. Teacher attitudes are vital. Teachers who believe that some languages are intrinsically better than others for thinking, learning, or expression will have difficulty being scholarly and objective about the developing language of their pupils and the use they make of it. Teachers who believe that some languages represent ignorance and vulgarity will have trouble finding sense in what pupils say or read. Teachers with such attitudes will mistake strength for weakness. They will interrupt children to correct them, causing the pupils to be confused when they are comprehending and undermining the willingness of the pupils to take the necessary risks to learn to read. Good attitudes toward language difference are more important than specific linguistic knowledge.

Teachers do not need to be linguists to "tune to" and accept children's language. It's more important that teachers strive to comprehend and to accept the language, culture, and development of bilingual pupils than that they can use contrastive analysis to describe the two languages involved. Teachers who are themselves fluent in the language of the pupils will be at an advantage as compared to those who are not. But such fluency does not guarantee a positive attitude toward the children and their language. There is a danger that such teachers will reject their own linguistic heritage and in the process reject that of the children.

The teaching of reading and language has been plagued by clinical and deficiency views. Characteristics of learners are treated as potential cause for failure in learning. Deviations from expected behavior are seen as symptoms, and treatments are focused on getting rid of the symptoms. The pedagogical question must shift from "How do I get these pupils to stop doing these things?" to "Why are they doing these things?" and "What can I learn from what they are doing?" It's particularly unfortunate if language differences which show in reading are treated as symptoms of reading and language disorders or language interference.

A key attitude teachers must maintain is treating all responses as legitimate. Everything is happening for reasons which reflect the linguistic *background*, *strength*, and *growth* of the pupils.

Nothing will facilitate language development more than the true love for language in all its many forms that teachers can help children to share. In the context of that love of language, both pupils and teachers can come to appreciate that to have two languages is to be twice blessed.

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Appendix: Information Sources for Bilingual Bicultural Materials

American Council on Education
1 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Bay Area Bilingual Education League (BABEL)
2168 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94704

Bilingual Education Service Center
500 South Dwyer Avenue
Arlington Heights, IL 60005

Bilingual Educational Services, Inc.
1607 Hope Street
P.O. Box 669
South Pasadena, CA 91030

Center for Applied Linguistics
1611 North Kent Street
Arlington, VA 22209

Center for Management of Innovation in Multicultural Education
5838 Callaghan, Suite 111
San Antonio, TX 78228

Center for the Study of Migrant and Indian Education
Central Washington State College
P.O. Box 329
Toppenish, WA 98948

Centro de Estudios Chicanos e Investigaciones Sociales, Inc.
P.O. Box 543
Notre Dame, IN 46556

Chicano Library and Education Researchers
1300 West Wabash Avenue
Chicago, IL 60605

Comite de Mexico y Aztlan
COMEXAZ
P.O. Box 12062
Oakland, CA 94604

Cruzada Spanish Publications
P.O. Box 1269
Homestead, FL 33030

Educational Consortium of America
P.O. Box 1057
Menlo Park, CA 94025

Educational Resource Center
855 Broadway
Boulder, CO 80303

ERIC/Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools
Box 3AP
New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, NM 88003

ERIC/Clearinghouse on Urban Education
Teachers College
Columbia University
525 West 120th Street
P.O. Box 40
New York, NY 10027

Greater California Education Project
841 West Belmont Avenue
Fresno, CA 93728

Multicultural Resources
P.O. Box 2945
Stanford, CA 94305

National Assessment and Dissemination Center
29 Everett Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
1500 Wilson Blvd., Suite 802
Rosslyn, VA 22209

National Dissemination and Assessment Center
California State University, Los Angeles
5151 State University Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90032

National Dissemination and Assessment Center
7703 North Lamar Blvd.
Austin, TX 78752

National Educational Laboratory Publishers
P.O. Box 1003
Austin, TX 78767

National Institute of Education
1200 19th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20208

Prensa Sembradora
P.O. Box 12262
Oakland, CA 94604

Proyecto Leer
1736 Columbia Road, NW
Washington, DC 20009

R & E Research Associates, Inc.
4843 Mission Street
San Francisco, CA 94025

Special Libraries Association
235 Park Avenue South
New York, NY 10003

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